

Historical Urban Tourism: The Evolution of Tourism in Colonial Lourenço Marques, Mozambique c.1920-1975

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Abstract | Scholarship is growing on cities as tourism destinations in the Global South. The vast majority of existing writings focus on contemporary issues around tourism development. This paper offers a contribution to address the historical knowledge gap within urban tourism research. The focus is Maputo, Mozambique's capital city, formerly known as Lourenço Marques. Using archival documentary material, the colonial tourism past of this city is examined. Lourenço Marques was the critical pivot for tourism in colonial Mozambique. Regional flows of tourists - most importantly from South Africa - were drivers of colonial tourism development. The strengthening of infrastructural linkages with South Africa meant that the city became a popular winter destination for visitors attracted by the city's continental European atmosphere and beaches. Of critical importance for tourism growth was the establishment of an accommodation services economy and the promotional activities of South African Railways. During the apartheid period Lourenço Marques continued as a growing tourism hub until the early 1970s when with political unrest and uncertainty linked to the anti-colonial struggle the tourism economy faltered and ended the colonial chapter of tourism for Lourenço Marques.

Keywords | Urban tourism, Global South, historical tourism, Lourenço Marques, colonial Mozambique

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1. Introduction

Over the past two decades considerable advances have been made in scholarship relating to tourism cities (Ashworth & Page, 2011; Malek & Mohamed, 2014; Dixit, 2021; Morrison & Coca-Stefaniak, 2021). One rising theme in mainstream scholarship has been the growth of discontent and protest around tourism-related issues in cities as a consequence of the dramatic quantitative expansion of urban tourism as well as of the manner in which tourism has been governed (or not) in many cities (Aall & Koens, 2019; Nilsson, 2020; Novy & Colomb, 2021). In the pre-COVID-19 period vibrant debates surrounded those urban tourism destinations struggling with problems associated with ‘overtourism’ (Milano & Koens, 2022; Oskam, 2020). With major shifts occurring in consumer psyche and travel behaviour, however, it is argued COVID-19 “could ultimately reshape the demand for urban tourism” (Zenker, 2022, p. 284) and correspondingly requires a “reframing of urban tourism” (Koens, 2021). Historically, according to Ashworth and Page (2011) the framing of urban tourism started during the 1980s and as part of a wider growth of tourism scholarship as a whole. The 1980s upturn of urban tourism research was followed by the continued growth of writings about cities as tourist destinations during the 1990s and 2000s. This period is viewed as marking the close of an era when the mainstay of tourism studies was rural research (Ashworth & Page, 2011). Now as Pasquinelli (2015) maintains tourism studies was free of its historic rural bias and no longer could overlook matters of tourism in cities. This occurred at a moment when the sector was a driving force for urban economic restructuring and post-Fordist transition in many parts of Europe and North America (Law, 1993, 1996).

Bellini and Pasquinelli (2017) point to a burst of research interest in urban tourism by scholars, policy-makers and planners by the mid-2010s. The

launch in 2015 of the *International Journal of Tourism Cities*, a serial dedicated to tourism studies in or of cities, marked the maturation of urban tourism scholarship. Urban tourism writings have encompassed a range of topics including *inter alia*, tourism impacts for sustainability, local economic development and restructuring, niche forms of tourism, resident perceptions, the changing character of accommodation services (including the growth of Air BnB), and the particular significance of business tourism for cities. Although the literature on urban tourism remains dominated by research about Northern cities it must be recognised that a rich scholarship is emerging concerning urban tourism research across various parts of the Global South (Rogerson & Rogerson, 2021a). Looking across the past 20 years of literature on urban tourism produced about cities of both the Global North and South, however, one observes an overwhelming ‘presentism’ with only a limited amount of historical scholarship. More than a decade ago Bickford-Smith (2009, p. 1765) identified this lacuna noting most writing in tourism studies “has been on contemporary developments in urban tourism rather than its history”. Extant urban tourism literature offers only glimpses concerning the emergence and challenges of localities in becoming tourist destinations.

The aim here is to offer a contribution to address this historical knowledge gap within urban tourism research. The focus is upon one city in the Global South, namely Maputo, Mozambique’s capital city, formerly known as Lourenço Marques. As a whole research on tourism in Africa’s capital cities is undeveloped and with minimal attention accorded to the histories of capital city tourism (Rogerson & Rogerson, 2021b, 2022a). Tourism development issues in urban Mozambique have generated only a small literature particularly as compared to other countries in sub-Saharan Africa (Rogerson & Rogerson, 2021c). It is against this backdrop that the article explores the evolution of tourism in colonial Lourenço Marques from

the early 1920s when promotional initiatives were in a formative phase to the close of Portuguese colonial rule. The study is situated as part of literature concerning tourism histories in Africa and of the relevance of a historical approach to research on urban tourism. These themes are reviewed briefly in the next section. Methodologically, the paper utilises an historical approach which is based on archival research. The validity and importance of archival research in tourism and hospitality studies is articulated by Power (2018) and by Abadi Nasb, Carr and Walters (2022) among others. In addition, MacKenzie, Pittaki and Wong (2020, p. 1470) point to the value of historical approaches by stressing that “hospitality and tourism research has much to gain by incorporating historical methodologies”.

In the words of Timothy (2012, p. 403) archives are “one of the most utilized sources of data known to researchers” and can help “develop understandings of how tourist destinations grow and decline”. The exploration of archival sources, the raw material of history, represents one of the major historical approaches for hospitality and tourism research (Pirie, 2022; C.M. Rogerson, 2022). This analysis builds upon an array of documentary sources, including guidebooks, and archival sources of the South African Railways and Harbours (SAR & H), material sourced at the Cape Town depot of the National Library of South Africa and in the historical papers’ collections at the William Cullen Library, University of the Witwatersrand in Johannesburg. An important secondary documentary source is Mubai’s (2006) detailed review of Portuguese language material relating to the growth of tourism in Mozambique. Overall, this paper extends an emerging literature on historical urban tourism research in Southern Africa and is one of few studies conducted on urban Mozambique.

2. Literature - Historical Tourism Research and Urban Africa

As Butler (2015) makes clear, tourism has a long history. Nevertheless, over 25 years ago Walton (1997) pinpointed the absence of serious historical studies of tourism-related topics. It was apparent that the “burgeoning field of tourism studies has remained essentially present-minded” (Walton, 1997, p. 564). The historical tourism scholarship authored by Walton (2005, 2009a, 2009b, 2009c, 2011, 2017) demonstrates the merits of tourism scholars engaging more deeply with the past in their work. Research in tourism history is critical for interpreting the processes of destination becoming and of destination change (Hanpachern & Chatkaewnapanon, 2013). Other observers reinforce the message that an “insightful understanding of current patterns of tourism growth cannot be completely comprehended without examining how tourism systems have been established and have evolved over time” (Bui, 2021, p. 1). Arguably, change in tourism and destination change necessitates a greater focus on tourism histories. In a classic assertion made by Walton (2009b, p. 115) it is evident that “all tourism research needs a sense of historical awareness” because “the present cannot be understood without reference to what has gone before”. Another recent plea for strengthened historical tourism scholarship was offered by Saarinen, Rogerson and Hall (2017, p. 311) who pointed to the need for “the extended application of historical perspectives in order to inform contemporary debates and practices”.

Among others Lwoga (2013, p. 2) points out that the historical evolution of tourism in Africa has “received limited scholarly attention”. In a recent overview of tourism histories in Africa Pirie (2022) stresses that existing research on sub-Saharan Africa remains relatively undeveloped particularly if compared to recent advances made on other topics such as sustainability, tourism development impacts or the role of community-based

tourism. The neglect of tourism history has the consequence that often “there is little understanding of the foundations and critical issues which shaped and still shape tourism in the region” (Lwoga, 2013, p. 2). Indeed, it is made clear that in Africa many scholars wrongly attribute the beginnings of tourism with European colonial rule and therefore neglect the documented histories of pre-colonial movements as traces of past travel that established the foundation for a later phase of colonial-modern tourism (Lwoga, 2010). Using the neglected Africanist approach to track historical tourism in the continent Lwoga (2013) discloses that during the pre-colonial period sub-Saharan Africa was not a ‘dark’ region as before colonialism features of travel and tourism in African societies can be discerned. Overall, it is suggested for African scholars that an enhanced understanding of tourism development in sub-Saharan Africa from an historical angle can be “crucial to tourism management institutions and policy makers in making insightful decisions about the present and future development of tourism” (Lwoga, 2013, p. 2).

Turning to cities it must be noted that research on urban tourism is the ‘poor cousin’ of African tourism scholarship which concentrates predominantly upon rural issues (Novelli, Adu-Ampong & Ribeiro, 2021). None the less, the majority of African cities are significant tourism destinations usually for purposes of business, visits from friends and relatives or for health or religious reasons as well as for some leisure visits (Rogerson & Rogerson, 2021d). Within the existing body of tourism writings on urban Africa the overwhelming mass of research investigations centre on present-day developments concerning tourism and cities. The largest amount of research relates to South Africa which has been the focus of concerted scholarly attention on issues of contemporary urban tourism for the past 20 years with core themes related to place-based economic development (see eg. C.M. Rogerson, 2002; Rogerson & Rogerson, 2017, 2021c; Rogerson & Visser, 2007) and the changing

organisation and complexion of accommodation services in cities (Greenberg & Rogerson, 2015, 2019; J.M. Rogerson, 2010, 2011, 2012; Visser, Erasmus & Miller, 2017). Beyond South Africa notable urban tourism contributions exist for cities in Botswana (Mbaiwa, Toteng, & Moswete, 2007), Cameroon (Tichaawa, 2017), Ethiopia (Tessema & Haile, 2022), Ghana (Adam, 2013; Adam & Amuquandoh, 2013), Kenya (Kieti & Magio, 2013; Mwangi, Wishitemi & Okello, 2020), and Zimbabwe (Makoni & Tichaawa, 2017). As regards thematic focus there are valuable contributions made around sustainable tourism in African cities (Leonard, Musavengane, & Siakweh, 2021), slum or poverty tourism (eg Frenzel, 2016, 2020; Kieti & Magio, 2013), the organization of informal business tourism (Rogerson & Letsie, 2013; Rogerson, 2018; Tichaawa, 2017), urban heritage and tourism (Drummond, Drummond & Rogerson, 2021; Sarmiento, 2010; van der Merwe, 2013), and geographical patterns of urban tourists (i Agustí 2020).

In terms of studies of historical tourism in urban Africa the literature is once again South African dominated. It includes research which unpacks the making of urban tourism in the country’s major cities of Cape Town (Bickford-Smith, 2009), Johannesburg (Rogerson & Rogerson, 2018, 2019; J.M. Rogerson, 2020; Rogerson & Rogerson, 2021e), and Pretoria (Rogerson & Rogerson, 2022a) as well as small towns such as Hermanus (J.M. Rogerson, 2019; Rogerson & Rogerson, 2020a) and Mahikeng (Drummond et al., 2021). Other urban-focused research explores the role of liquor in the hotel history of South Africa (C.M. Rogerson, 2011), turning points for the hotel sector (Rogerson & Rogerson, 2022b), the rise of business and conference tourism in South Africa (C.M. Rogerson, 2019), early port tourism (Gupta, 2015), the chequered development of health tourism (Rogerson & Rogerson, 2021f), and the emergence of caravanning as a ‘mundane’ type of urban tourism (Rogerson & Rogerson, 2021g). A further

cluster of research studies probe the ramifications of apartheid legislation on urban tourism including the struggles against the making of racialized tourism spaces (J.M. Rogerson, 2017; C.M. Rogerson, 2020; Rogerson & Rogerson, 2020b; C.M. Rogerson, 2022) as well as the impacts of the imposition of international economic sanctions for major South African corporations engaged in hotel development (Rogerson & Rogerson, 2022c). Outside South Africa the small literature on tracing tourism's past in urban spaces encompasses contributions by Pirie (2021) on the colonial planning of Nairobi airports and by Sarmiento and Linehan (2019) on the cultural and political topologies of colonial hotels interrogating the case of the Grande Hotel in Beira, Mozambique. The context of the underdevelopment of historical research on urban tourism in sub-Saharan Africa provides the setting for this investigation of the development of tourism in colonial Lourenço Marques from the early 1920s to the close of Portuguese colonial rule.

3. The Evolution of Tourism in Colonial Lourenço Marques

The Bay of Lourenço Marques – formerly Delagoa Bay – was a source of ivory for Europe and the Indian Ocean world for centuries before in 1871 Portugal established a permanent garrison there (de Blij, 1962; Morton, 2018). At the beginning of the 1870s the settlement could be described “as a slow-growing, malaria-plagued trading post” (Bertelsen, Tvedten & Roque, 2014, p. 2752). The settlement would soon experience a dramatic change because of the discoveries of diamonds and gold in South Africa, the colonial scramble for Africa and Portugal's need to assert control over the territory of Mozambique and in particular over Lourenço Marques (Newitt, 1995). According to Morton (2015) the resolution of Portugal's sovereignty over Delagoa Bay was a critical moment

for the development of Lourenço Marques. In 1876 after Portugal successfully fended off a British attempt to claim part of the bay it elevated what was a military post to the status of a town. Important infrastructural upgrades ensued as in 1877 a team of engineers from Portugal began draining the marshland that surrounded the settlement on most sides (Bertelsen et al., 2014). Geographical location favoured the further development possibilities for Lourenço Marques as the settlement was the closest port to the Transvaal where mineral discoveries in the 1880s fuelled a spectacular economic boom.

3.1. Tourism Possibilities and Establishing the Foundations

The completion in 1895 of the construction on the railway line linking Transvaal to the port radically altered the socio-economic as well as the geopolitical landscape (Morton, 2015). By the beginning of the 20th century Lourenço Marques was experiencing a transformation with rapid population growth especially by Portuguese settlers. According to MacDonald (2012, p. 100) the harbour improvements and the railway “turned the town into a major transport node connecting the gold fields of the Transvaal with the Indian Ocean”. The potential of tourism was not lost on the local authorities in Lourenço Marques. As early as 1914 it had its own tourism council with the competence and mandate “to give suggestions about the issues raised related to the development of tourism in the so-called ‘Portuguese province’ of Mozambique and especially in the city of Lourenço Marques” (Mubai, 2006, p. 35). In 1919 Burall (1919, p. 65) heralded the tourism development possibilities for South African visitors of “the Port of Lourenço Marques, the picturesque City, and the immense Bay, where the fleets of all nations might lie safely at anchor”. In addition, this writer applauded the city's many “magnificent broad, airy, and splendi-

dly maintained streets and avenues” which greatly added to the charm of this “most beautifully situated city” (Burall, 1919, p. 68).

With its basic infrastructural foundations Lourenço Marques received an increasing flow of visitors, most especially coming from the Transvaal by train. Following the end of the First World War the possibilities of marketing the city to the Transvaal market were taken up by several actors. The railway enterprise Caminhos de Ferro de Lourenço Marques and the city’s leading hotel the Cardozo Hotel both appear in *The Illustrated South African Hotel Guide* for 1920, an annual guide which reappeared in 1920 after the restoration of peace in Europe. The benefits and comforts of rail travel as well as access which it offered to ocean steam ships are highlighted for visitors to and from the Transvaal (Fig. 1). The language used in the guide indicates how Portuguese East Africa was viewed almost as an integral part of the Union of South Africa:

“The town of Lourenco Marques, or Delagoa Bay as it is more popularly known, occupies a unique position among South African seaports. Just as Cape Town is the natural gateway of the Union, Delagoa is the essential entrance from the sea to the Transvaal being only a few hours’ away by train from the Union capital and from the busy centre of the Rand. The effect of this is seen in the trade of the Port, in its business activities, and in its social life, especially during the winter months when a constant stream of visitors flows from the Transvaal high veld to enjoy the salubrious climate of its sun-kissed bay and the delightful charm of a life which is distinctive in South Africa on account of its Continental colouring” (Cape Times, 1920, p. 141).

Figure 1 | Advertising Rail Travel between the Transvaal and Lourenço Marques

Source: Cape Times, 1920, p. 140

The 1920 guide portrays Lourenço Marques as “a town modelled on the old-world style of the European continent” (Cape Times, 1920, p. 141). In addition, it was styled as “a holiday resort that is already finding difficulty in coping with the natural result of its popularity, as the hotel and boarding house accommodation is quite insufficient to cope with the trade” (Cape Times, 1920, p. 142). Descriptions of Marine Drive (which winds down to the beach from the top of a ridge) for potential international visitors drew parallels with the appearance of English and European seaside resorts. It “reminds one of the marine scenery at places like Bournemouth and Scarborough in England and some of the Mediterranean watering places” (Cape Times, 1920, p. 143). New developments were identified as taking place around Polana Beach “where an elaborate scheme of development is being carried out to meet the needs of a fashionable seaside resort”. At the heart of those development was the construction of what would become the Polana Hotel, which was planned as a national landmark (Polana Serena Hotel, 2021). Other facilities included the opening of

an adjacent new golf course, refreshment rooms at the beach, improvement of the existing yacht club with a boat deck for pleasure craft, and completion of an electric lift from the top of the cliff to the beach. The radical physical re-modelling of urban space in Lourenço Marques, a formerly malaria-infected area, was described as follows: "Thirty years ago the town consisted of one or two ill-favoured streets and an undeveloped harbour, but to-day it is a small but beautiful city possessing many fine residences and public buildings, and it enjoys a healthiness that deserves to be better known" (Cape Times, 1920, p. 145). According to Penvenne (2005, p. 87) Lourenço Marques was proclaimed a 'corner of Europe' in Southern Africa, showcased as the bastion of Portuguese settler society and progressing towards "a modern town of Africa, which is endeavouring hard not to feel like Africa".

A great future was envisioned for the town and not least because of "its increasing popularity among South African people as a holiday resort" offering "visitors a complete change of environment which combines both the Continental and the Oriental" (Cape Times, 1920, p. 145). With the return of peace Lourenço Marques became a port of call for leading lines of ocean steamships. In addition, the city could benefit "from the complete change of environment it affords to visitors from the Transvaal, only 16 hours distant by rail" (Cape Times, 1920, p. 145). 1922 was a critical moment for the evolution of tourism in Lourenço Marques with the completion and opening of the Polana Hotel designed by the renowned South African architect Herbert Baker. This hotel became a primary focus for accommodation services and was a major contribution to addressing the quantitative as well as qualitative shortcomings of the local hotel sector. One major guidebook for South African (as well as international visitors) asserted by 1924 that "the former problems of securing adequate hotel accommodation were resolved with the building of a "palatial hotel, far ahead of anything of

its kind in the sub-Continent" (Cape Times, 1924, p. 291). The attractions of the hotel included its "lavish furnishings", "magnificent balconies with their line broken by classic marble pillars", hotel interior with "a delightful atmosphere of restfulness", bedrooms representing "the last word in comfort" and a "well-earned reputation for rare wines". This iconic colonial hotel would become a playground for the rich and famous and enjoyed the patronage of royalty and other distinguished visitors as the dining hall "became the centre for social life of the province" (Marks, n.d., p. 25).



Figure 2 | The Polana Hotel Marketing, 1924
Source: Cape Times, 1924, p. 280

The 1924 *Illustrated Guide to South Africa* devoted 20 pages to the attractions of Lourenço Marques including the Polana Hotel (Figure 2). Lourenço Marques was "now rightly regarded as one of the leading towns in the southern portion of the African Continent and it is becoming increasingly known every year as a holiday resort and busy shipping centre" (Cape Times, 1924, p. 279). The description given of the town reflected

on its transformation over the previous 35 years since the opening of the railway with the Transvaal with the “many imposing buildings” (Cape Times, 1924, p. 287) and “extremely picturesque Public Gardens, probably the most remarkable of its kind in South Africa, for what were formerly stagnant mosquito-breeding pools” (Cape Times, 1924, p. 285). Considerable attention was accorded the beach attractions of “a health and holiday resort of compelling charm” and with the opening of the Polana Hotel offering accommodation for up to 300 guest visitors could “be assured of the best possible hotel accommodation and it is confidently expected that this will give a considerable impetus to the development of the town as a tourist resort” (Cape Times, 1924, p. 291). It is argued that Portugal scripted its presence firmly in Lourenço Marques as exemplified by a signature palm-lined seaside boulevard, botanical garden, tree-lined streets, a bandstand plaza and the belvedere which overlooks the bay (Penvenne, 2011). The municipality promoted the continental flavour of the town’s cafes, gardens, parks, sporting clubs and cinemas. Overall, the tourism potential of Lourenço Marques seemingly was assured: “Anyone really in quest of a comparatively quiet town, with a pleasant climate, and a beach differing from all else in South Africa, cannot find a more appropriate spot to spend a period of rest than the capital city of Mozambique” (Cape Times, 1924, p. 293). As shown on Figure 3 the key tourism assets of the city advertised to South African visitors were “the famous Polana beach”, “ideal winter climate” which was compared to the Riviera, and an environment which “provides a pleasant change and ideal rest, in a delightful atmosphere, from the cold and bleak surroundings of a Transvaal winter” (Cape Times, 1924, p. 276).

From the late 1920s Lourenço Marques was portrayed as a “corner of Continental Europe in Africa” and even as a “city on the edge of the East” (Caminhos de Ferro de Lourenço Marques & South African Railways and Harbours, 1927, 1931;

Lourenço Marques

DELAGOA BAY

Ideal Winter Climate. Beautiful Beach

IN addition to being the most economic and most convenient port in South Africa for the expanding trade of the Transvaal, Lourenço Marques has now become an important Health and Pleasure Resort, fast growing in favour, for inland visitors during the months of May to September. Its climate then has all the mildness of the Riviera and is bracing and invigorating to a degree.

THE FAMOUS POLANA BEACH

is unrivalled on the South African littoral for its picturesqueness and its many miles of beautiful sands, with its park-like vegetation within a stone's-throw of the softly-murmuring waters of the outer bay. It provides a pleasant change and ideal rest, in a delightful atmosphere, from the cold and bleak surroundings of a Transvaal winter.

Shortest and Most Comfortable Route to the Rand

Through Trains with Dining and Sleeping Accommodation run between Lourenço Marques and the Transvaal.

For Particulars apply to:

CONSELHO DE TURISMO,
P.O. BOX 741, LOURENÇO MARQUES

Port and Railway Agent,
P.O. BOX 583, JOHANNESBURG or P.O. BOX 184, PRETORIA

Figure 3 | Lourenço Marques Marketing 1924
Source: Cape Times, 1924, p. 276

Penvenne, 2011). Much marketing of the city to potential tourists – South African and overseas – was undertaken through the pamphlets and guidebooks issued by South African Railways and Harbours and often in conjunction with Caminhos de Ferro de Lourenço Marques (see Caminhos de Ferro de Lourenço Marques & South African Railways and Harbours, 1927). Seasonal excursion fares offered by SAR & H from Johannesburg and Pretoria to seaside resorts regularly included Lourenço Marques alongside South African coastal resorts such as Durban or East London. In addition, the town was included in several of the itineraries of ‘special party-tour trains’ operated by South African Railways and often following a visit to Kruger National Park. In 1930 the SAR & H issued a promotional booklet titled *Lourenço Marques: Golden Mornings, Silver Nights* which was clearly targeted at the market of South African inland travellers who could be transported by a “convenient railway journey of under thirteen hours” to “the continental holiday-land”. The marketing

message focused on the “matter of contrast” and stressed that the “break from the workaday round should generally be spent in an atmosphere and amid scenes materially different from those with which the vacationist is usually associated” (South African Railways and Harbours, 1930, p. 1). Indeed, it was made clear: “Lourenço Marques liberally affords novelty – that desideratum of ‘something different’ – for the contrasts between scenes and settings and customs in the Union and across the eastern border are strikingly and alluringly marked” (South African Railways and Harbours, 1930, pp. 1-2).

The Southern hemisphere wintertime was highlighted as “the gala season” with “the long sequence of heartening days of blue and gold”. During this period of the year it was recorded: “They come – these holiday-makers – from the Congo and the Rhodesias; from the Cape and the Transvaal highlands, from Natal and the Orange Free Stater” and “all feel they have chosen wisely when they gain the shores of the Indian Ocean” (South African Railways and Harbours, 1930, p. 2). The major lure for visitors was the bathing opportunities at Polana Beach where “health is quickly recaptured”. Other attractions for visitors were described for angling, yachting and enjoyment of the town’s “cosmopolitan concourses” which visitors from South Africa “find it hard to believe – so totally different are the surroundings from which he is accustomed – that he is but a short distance – a brief travel space from his own city” (South African Railways and Harbours, 1930, pp. 13-14).

3.2. Progress of Colonial Tourism Development

By the mid-1930s the tourism potential and attractions of Lourenço Marques were firmly established (Mubai, 2006). At this time the Polana Hotel was recognised as one of the most atmospheric hotels in the world, a meeting place that

offered unparalleled elegance and grandeur (Polana Serena Hotel, 2021). Another promotional guide for rail travel in Southern Africa produced by South African Railways (1934) included a section on Lourenço Marques which was deemed a “popular resort” where “signs of progress are abundant on every hand” (South African Railways and Harbours, 1934, p. 58). It was stated as follows: “in the town itself, the hotels always a barometer of progress, have grown both in number and in outward appearance. Polana Beach and its cliffs have had the attention of a landscape gardener, as well as the engineer, and a fine drive now winds from the top of the cliffs to the beach, which has become the centre of gaiety. The town, too, has grown, and with it the facility for sport and entertainment so that the place has become immensely popular as a winter health resort” (South African Railways and Harbours, 1934, p. 58). The 1936 guide to hotels and boarding houses produced by SAR & H listed 10 hotels and advised visitors that “the capital of Portuguese East Africa, Lourenço Marques “is a favourite seaside resort during the winter months” and the “port facilities are modern and up-to-date” (South African Railways and Harbours, 1936, pp. 134-135). Overall, publicity for Lourenço Marques continued to compare it to the “atmosphere of Europe” portraying the city as something different from its African natural setting and surrounds. It was represented as a ‘purely European city’ with photographs in booklets highlighting Europeans enjoying life in the city, its tourist attractions and especially the beaches. Notable is the absence of images of the local African population and their culture (Mubai, 2006). In the small number of cases where pamphlets or guidebooks did feature Africans they appear mostly as workers or servants or sometimes as selling products in ‘native markets’, part of the colour and ‘delightful environment’ of the city (Mubai, 2006).

Seemingly by the late 1930s drive tourism to Lourenço Marques was on the rise and beginning to match (or even supplant) the flow of Trans-

vaal visitors making the trip by rail. Noticeably, the advertisement for the Polana Hotel highlighted variously the attractions of not only “sea-bathing within a few minutes’ walk”, “89 miles from the Game Reserves” and access to “motor launch trips up the river”, but also the hotel’s provision of “separate garage accommodation for 40 cars” (South African Railways and Harbours, 1936, p. 84). By the late 1930s visitor handbooks were providing considerable detail of the best routes for driving to Lourenço Marques from both Johannesburg and Durban.

During the late 1930s another notable element of the tourism economy of Lourenço Marques was as a port of call for tourist passenger cruise lines that were travelling along the coast of Southern Africa and carried wealthy tourists on lengthy ocean cruises (Gupta, 2015). Beginning in the mid-1920s the rise of this segment of what is termed ‘elite exoticism’ is documented by Pirie (2011) stressing how passengers were indulged in and catered to at these port stopovers. Gupta (2015) shows that Lourenço Marques was one of the leisured port spaces that were inter-connected ports of call for mainly wealthy European and American passengers. The prestigious Polana Hotel and Polana beach defined Lourenço Marques as a popular stopping point for luxurious entertainment for what Gupta (2015, p. 164) maintains was a burgeoning of cruise tourism during the 1930s in which a key role was played by the British-based Union-Castle line. The Polana hotel’s own handbook for visitors pointed out that as a result of its cliff location, for passengers on ocean steamliners “this striking edifice can be seen from the decks” as ships entered the channel 20 miles from the docks (Marks, n.d., p. 9). Cruise tourists were advised that the “Polana Hotel is the Mecca of every visitor to Lourenço Marques and the hotel charabanc awaits those passengers who wish to proceed there without delay”. Arguably, “fantasy, escape, conspicuous extravagance, and pampering were of the essence” of the luxury cruise tourism trade ancho-

red upon ‘floating palaces’ (Gupta, 2015, p. 160). The Second World War, however, halted all ocean cruise liner traffic and visits to Lourenço Marques (Gupta, 2015; Pirie, 2011).

In a wartime national guide to hotels, boarding houses and guest houses produced in 1940 by SAR & H 10 hotels were listed for Lourenço Marques (South African Railways and Harbours, 1940). Four hotels advertised in that guide with the Club Hotel, which faced the botanical gardens, stating it was “for families and commercial men” and offered “excellent cuisine” (South African Railways and Harbours, 1940, p. 98). The wartime period undoubtedly reduced substantially leisure travel from the Transvaal. In a minor compensation for the reduced numbers of leisure travellers during the Second World War the colonial capital of Portuguese East Africa became a hub for intelligence gathering by German and Italian agents in Southern Africa (Cowell, 1982). Fedorowich (2005, p. 223) records that since the outbreak of hostilities in Europe in 1939 “Lourenço Marques was a hotbed of intrigue and intelligence gathering” both for gathering information on allied shipping traffic and to forge links with Nazi sympathisers in South Africa and thereby to destabilize the imperial war effort in South Africa (Fedorowich, 2005). As an espionage hub, flows of these special wartime tourists frequented (and many stayed at) the Cardozo and Polana Hotels.

With the close of hostilities in Europe the city resumed its previous role as leisure playground for the Transvaal and most especially for the inhabitants of Pretoria, Johannesburg, and the rest of the Witwatersrand. From the 1940s a number of guide books and booklets appeared about Lourenço Marques providing basic information on its leisure tourism attractions and facilities as a tourist destination and mainly directed at the regional market (Mubai, 2006). In addition, from 1949 there was resumption in cruise ships traversing the coast of Southern Africa (Gupta, 2015). Business tourism was a further element for the city’s tou-

rism economy spurred by the fact that in 1942 Lourenço Marques had become the headquarters location for direct administration of the territory of Mozambique after the ending of concessions which had been granted to part of the territory to private companies because of Portugal's limited financial capacity (Rodrigues, 2019). It was evident also that Lourenço Marques benefited from the expansion of conference tourism which occurred in South Africa during the late 1940s and 1950s (Rogerson, 2019). The city hosted a number of congresses and business meetings of South African organisations; the City Hall was the venue in 1948 for the meeting of the South African Publicity Association (Cape Archives Depot (KAB), Cape Town, File 3/ELN967.1756).

The 1940s and early 1950s, according to Morton (2015), was a period of the beginning of dramatic population growth. In 1950 the city's population was only about 93,000 but this doubled in size over the following decade and in the 1960s more than doubled again. In the decades after World War II the settlement structure of Lourenço Marques took on the character of a 'dual city' with a predominantly European city of concrete-block houses and apartment towers which was spatially separated from a much larger and predominantly African city precariously built out of wood, zinc and reeds. Penvenne (2011) writes of the making of "two cities" in colonial Lourenço Marques with the concrete city celebrated as an example of Portugal's civilizing mission in Africa. This pattern of residential segregation with the European populations living separate and distinct from black majorities was typical of other African colonial cities. Indeed, like many colonial cities Lourenço Marques evolved a dual and fractured spatial structure with the cement city representing cleanliness and order (Bertelsen et al., 2014). The tourism economy of the city- all hotels, beaches and attractions - was geographically focussed in the European city. It was observed that this "open-air life makes the most of the subtropical holiday-like climate of Lou-

renço Marques, where conditions are ideal for most of the year although a fireplace is welcome for a very short time in winter" (Beinart, 1961).

For Barros, Chinangwe and Samagaio (2014, p. 76) Lourenço Marques emerged to become "one of Africa's most beautiful and fashionable cities with a cosmopolitan atmosphere, pavement cafes and a thriving tourism industry". A 1961 report described Lourenço Marques as a city "of lush vegetation and much colour" where the city's "inhabitants lead a typically Latin life, enlivening the pavements and streets by their enjoyment of gathering in groups and strolling about outside, relaxing in the numerous open-air cafes and family restaurants and sunning themselves on the beach" (Beinart, 1961). By the early 1960s Lourenço Marques was firmly established as a "leading holiday resort for South Africans" with its thousands of visitors annually contributing "significantly to the city's wealth" (de Blij, 1962, p. 56). During the 1960s the strong connections of Portuguese East Africa with the leisure market of the Transvaal were underscored by the appearance in 1965 of a Guide to the Hotels of South Africa and Adjacent Territories (Hotel Guide Association, 1965). One of those adjacent territories was Mozambique with listings of accommodation options provided for both Beira and Lourenço Marques. Marketing for the Polana Hotel highlighted that "gay Lourenço Marques" was "just 60 minutes from Johannesburg by air" or seven hours drive (Hotel Guide Association, 1965, p. 41). Tourists choosing the Polana would be able to enjoy "the standards that any Continental Hotel would be proud of" and "relax in an air-conditioned room overlooking romantic Delagoa Bay... dine on giant prawns prepared by Europe's master chefs... and dance to a Continental band in the intimate Latin-American 'Boite'" (Hotel Guide Association, 1965, p. 41). Further, it was proclaimed that "enchantment is within your reach!" with visitors enticed by a range of opportunities: "Stroll the wide, tree-lined boulevards of exotic Lourenço Marques", "Visit quaint

fishing villages and exciting Game Reserves” and “enjoy golf, yachting, water sports and river trips – thrill to the fascinating sparkle of Portugal in Africa” (Hotel Guide Association, 1965, p. 41).

Between 1960 and 1972 it is recorded that the number of international tourists visiting Mozambique escalated from less than 200 000 per year to peak in 1971 at around 400 000 in total (Penvenne, 2011). Although Beira enjoyed a growth in tourism (especially from colonial Rhodesia) the core of the colonial tourism economy centred on Lourenço Marques (Mubai, 2006). As a result of the limited amount of good roads in the colony, tourists focused on those centres closest to their country such that South Africans concentrated in Southern Mozambique. The surge of visitors – mainly mobilities from South Africa and colonial Rhodesia with some arrivals from Europe (largely Portugal) for business or VFR travel – meant that tourism contributed about 5 percent of foreign exchange revenue for Mozambique. It nurtured an expanding local service sector in which Africans comprised more than two-thirds of the workers in the hotels, boarding houses and restaurants of Lourenço Marques (Penvenne, 2011).

3.3. The Close of Colonial Tourism

Throughout the 1960s therefore tourism expansion boosted the economy of the deeply segregated city as most Europeans concentrated in the so-called City of Cement with the amenities of modern urban life including the beaches, cafes and restaurants. By contrast, most Africans were compelled to reside in the flood-prone *subúrbios*, where basic municipal infrastructure was lacking (Morton, 2022). By 1970 Africans constituted three-quarters of the city’s estimated 400 000 population albeit the tourist brochures of this era still promoted the illusion of a white city (Penvenne 2011). Indeed, according to Mubai (2006) the colonial regime intentionally neglected or mar-

ginalized the local African population in tourism marketing and instead represented Mozambique as a Portuguese territory with its white settler population. Opposition to colonial rule and the rise of nationalist ideals had developed during the 1950s among several movements of which three organizations combined to form in 1962 the Mozambique Liberation Front or FRELIMO (Rodrigues, 2019).

In 1964 FRELIMO launched an anticolonial campaign in northern and central Mozambique. The strong Portuguese military presence around Lourenço Marques limited operations of FRELIMO near the colonial capital. By 1973 a worsening security situation in Mozambique triggered a 12 percent downturn in international tourism. In 1974 several factors coalesced to tarnish Mozambique’s image as a relaxed and cheap piece of the “sundrenched Mediterranean transplanted to Africa” (Linscott, 1974). The flow of tourists from South Africa was massively impacted. Beyond safety issues other negative factors for tourists included import restrictions imposed on wines from Portugal by Lisbon forcing visitors to drink “the vinegary local product”, an unrealistic exchange rate between the Rand and Escudo, difficulties of accessing petrol, a cholera outbreak, and reported overcharging of visitors by hotels which were not classified. Following the revolution in Portugal in 25 April 1974 the flows of international tourists essentially collapsed and there began an exodus of the European population from the city (Penvenne, 2011). According to reports which appeared in the Johannesburg *Rand Daily Mail* by July 1974 never before had tourism in Lourenço Marques reached “such a low ebb” because of political unrest and uncertainty in Mozambique (*Rand Daily Mail*, 24 July 1974). The close of colonial tourism occurred with the negotiations which culminated in the recognition of Mozambique’s independence on 25 June 1975 under a FRELIMO government (Rodrigues, 2019).

4. Conclusion

Understanding the evolution of tourism destinations is one of the research challenges for tourism scholars. This study represents a contribution to enhanced awareness of the different evolutionary pathways of urban tourism destinations in the Global South. It demonstrates the application of historical approaches and use of archival sources to analyse the tourism past of one city of sub-Saharan Africa. According to Mubai (2006) during the colonial period from 1895 to 1974 the tourism sector was one of the most important contributors for the balance of payments account of Mozambique. The development of Lourenço Marques was the critical pivot for the expansion of tourism. Regional flows of visitors most importantly from South Africa were drivers of colonial tourism development. Tourism opened up with the railway linkages to the Transvaal and port development which allowed visits from ocean steamship cruisers during the 1920s, 1930s and 1940s. A central role in promoting tourism development was played by the activities and travel marketing of South African Railways & Harbours. The strengthening of infrastructural linkages with South Africa meant that the city became a popular winter destination for South African visitors attracted by its continental European atmosphere and beaches. Of critical importance was the establishment of an accommodation services economy at the heart of which was the iconic Polana Hotel. During the apartheid period Lourenço Marques continued to be a growing tourism hub for (white) South African visitors as well as travellers from colonial Rhodesia into the 1960s and early 1970s. By the early 1970s, however, with political unrest and uncertainty linked to the anti-colonial struggle the tourism economy faltered and ended the colonial chapter of tourism for Lourenço Marques.

Acknowledgements

Thanks for helpful inputs into the preparation of this paper by Lulu White as well as Robbie and Skye Norfolk.

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